

Message Text

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PAGE 01 TURIN 00099 01 OF 02 041248Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15
TRSE-00 MCT-01 ACDA-10 VOE-00 SCA-01 /081 W
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FM AMCONSUL TURIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0680
AMEMBASSY ROME
INFO USMISSION NATO
USMISSION EC

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 TURIN 0099

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IT
SUBJ: EUROPE BETWEEN BREZHNEV AND CARTER AS SEEN BY
ARRIGO LEVI OF LA STAMPA

1. SUMMARY. LEADING ITALIAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
COMMENTATOR, LA STAMPA EDITOR ARRIGO LEVI, TOLD MARCH 3
ROTARY LUNCHEON AUDIENCE THAT U.S. POLICY SHIFT TOWARD
MORAL SUPPORT OF DISSIDENTS AROUND THE WORLD CONTAINS
RISKS FOR WEST EUROPEAN INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES.
CURRENT FORWARD-MOVING U.S. POLICY COULD WELL LEAD TO
REPRESSIVE REACTIONS IN EAST, PARTICULARLY GIVEN MORAL
APPROACH OF NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION (IN CONTRAST TO
PREVIOUS PRAGMATIC APPROACH) AND INEXORABLE AGING OF
CURRENT SOVIET LEADERSHIP. LEVI IMPLIED HIS SUPPORT FOR
CURRENT U.S. POLICY AND STRESSED HIS OPTIMISM THAT WESTERN
EUROPE SHOULD AND COULD STRENGTHEN ITS DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS
IN ORDER TO MEET THE CHALLENGES AHEAD. END SUMMARY.

2. IN HIS USUAL RAPID-FIRE, ENGAGING AND BRILLIANT MANNER,
LA STAMPA NEWSPAPER EDITOR ARRIGO LEVI HELD TURIN ROTARY
LUNCHEON AUDIENCE ALMOST SPELL-BOUND WITH HIS PRESENTA-
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 TURIN 00099 01 OF 02 041248Z

TION ON: "EUROPE BETWEEN BREZHNEV AND CARTER." WHILE
SOUNDING OVERALL OPTIMISTIC NOTE, LEVI CONCLUDED THAT
"WESTERN DEMOCRATIC INDUSTRIALIZED EUROPE" WILL NOT ESCAPE
FROM SERIOUS EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE THAT ARE BOUND TO
OCCUR WITHIN NEXT EIGHT YEARS (CARTER ADMINISTRATION, AS
HE FORESAW IT). WITH DISTENSION ON THE RISE IN EASTERN
(PLS READ DISSENSION)

EUROPE, AND WITH RIGID REPRESSION NO DOUBT TO FOLLOW (WITNESS, LEVI UNDERLINED, ONLY TWO "EUROPEAN WARS" IN PAST 30 YEARS -- HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA), AND WITH POLICIES, EVENTS AND PERSONALITIES IN U.S. AND USSR NOT UNDER WEST EUROPEAN CONTROL, WESTERN EUROPE SHOULD LOOK TO WHAT IT CAN CONTROL AND STRENGTHEN ITS OWN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN ORDER TO WEATHER THE STORMS AHEAD.

3. ON CARTER SIDE OF HIS EQUATION, LEVI SAID MOST IMPORTANT U.S. FOREIGN POLICY DEVELOPMENT SINCE JAN. 20 HAS BEEN OPENING OF SUPPORT TOWARD DISSIDENTS AROUND THE WORLD AND THE IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES THIS POLICY BRINGS TO EUROPE.

A. LEVI SAID THIS "CARTER/ BRZEZINSKI SHIFT IN U.S. POLICY" ACTUALLY RESULTED IN A POLICY SIMILAR TO THAT OF USSR SUPPORTING NATIONAL/POLITICAL COEXISTENCE, BUT OPPOSING IDEOLOGICAL COEXISTENCE# HOWEVER, U.S. MORAL SUPPORT FOR DISSENTERS IN EASTERN EUROPE WAS MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THAN SOVIET SUPPORT FOR COMMUNIST IN THE WEST GIVEN VERY NATURE OF DISSENTIONIN WEST AND ALSO ABSENCE OF REPRESSION AND REVERSE OF STORY IN SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE. MOREOVER, EAST IS CAUGHT IN DILEMMA OF ITS OWN MAKING GIVEN EXPULSION OF DISSENTERS AND ATTRACTIVENESS AND INTELLIGENCE OF THIS GROUP OUTSIDE EAST AND ITS ROLE AS A CONTINUING POLE OF ATTRACTION FOR DISSENTERS STILL WITHIN EAST OR THOSE YET TO BE DEVELOPED.

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 TURIN 00099 01 OF 02 041248Z

B. LEVI ALSO NOTED A SIMILAR POLICY COULD BE FOUND IS LESS-WELL-KNOWN "FIRST SONNENFELDT DOCTRINE" WHICH ESPoused A POLICY OF DETENTE AND ALSO FORWARD MOVEMENT IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY VIS-A-VIS THE EAST. AS THIS POLICY TOOK HOLD, HOWEVER, AND AS A RESULT OF THE LEVEL OF DISSENT ROSE IN EAST, "SECOND SONNENFELDT DOCTRINE" WAS FORMULATED GIVEN RECOGNITION THAT U.S. COULD NOT CONTROL EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND RAPID BUILD-UP OF LEVEL OF DISSENSION IN EAST COULD LEAD TO DAMAGE AND BREAKDOWN IN WEST EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES AND ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

C. CARTER/BRZEZINSKI POLICY IS AGAIN A POLICY OF MOVE- MENT, BUT LEVI STRESSED IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT THE "COLOSSAL" EFFORTS OF KISSINGER IN RAPPROCHE- MENT WITH USSR AND ORCHESTRATING ENTRY OF CHINA AS MAJOR STABILIZING FORCE IN BALANCE OF POWER. FROM THIS STABLE BASE, U.S. POLICY WAS ABLE TO MOVE ON ITS CURRENT COURSE.

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PAGE 01 TURIN 00099 02 OF 02 041254Z

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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 TURIN 0099

.... ON ITS CURRENT COURSE.

4. LEVI CONCLUDED THAT EUROPE, BOTH EAST AND WEST, IS GOING THROUGH EVOLUTIONARY PERIOD, NEAR-TERM RESULTS OF WHICH HE PREDICTED PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE SEEN IN HIS GENERATION. EUROPE IS STILL CENTER-STAGE FOR HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS, AND THE RESOLUTION OF THE EXTERNAL PROBLEMS OF WESTERN EUROPE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE EAST ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE DOMESTIC QUESTIONS FACING EACH EUROPEAN COUNTRY. GIVEN AGING SOVIET LEADERSHIP AND MORAL APPROACH OF CARTER PRESUMABLY OVER NEXT EIGHT YEARS (IN CONTRAST TO "PRAGMATIC" KISSINGER APPROACH LEADING FIRST TO INITIAL SONNENFELDT APPROACH AND THEN TO SUBSEQUENT DOCTRINE ENUNCIATING "NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS"), LEVI DID NOT SEE HOW A REPRESSIVE CLASH COULD BE AVOIDED IN EASTERN EUROPE. HE EMPHASIZED RECENT GROWTH IN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN "SOFT UNDERBELLY OF EUROPE" FROM IBERIAN TO HELLENISTIC PENINSULAS SHOULD BE BUILT UPON TO STRENGTHEN WEST EUROPEAN UNITY AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS WITHIN EUROPEAN NATIONS AND ALSO AT LEVEL OF UNIFIED WEST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT. DEVELOPMENT OF SUCH GREATER WEST EUROPEAN UNITY WOULD LEAD TO POSITIVE

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 TURIN 00099 02 OF 02 041254Z

"EVOLUTION" OF WHAT IS NOW CALLED "EUROCOMMUNISM" AND "ABBERATION OF COMMUNIST EMILIA IN A PLACE THAT USED TO BE CALLED ITALY" WOULD BE PUT INTO PROPER PERSPECTIVE.

5. IN AN ASIDE, LEVI PREDICTED U.S. VISA POLICY VIS-A-VIS COMMUNISTS WOULD SOON BE EASED, "IT IS INEVITABLE" WITH CURRENT DIRECTIGS OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. LEVI ADDED HE WISHED SUCH POLICY HAD BEEN INSTITUTED SOME YEARS AGO AS "WE IN ITALY WOULD ALL BE MUCH BETTER OFF NOW HAD 300 PCI MEMBERS GONE TO THE U.S. FIVE YEARS AGO." HE CITED LATE PIER PAOLO PASOLINI'S REVELATION AFTER FIRST VISIT TO U.S. THAT U.S. AND NOT USSR WAS REAL REVOLUTIONARY COUNTRY OF THE WORLD."

6. COMMENT. LEVI EMPHASIZED THAT HIS OPINIONS WERE BASED ON CURRENT DIRECTION OF U.S. POLICY AND THE EVENTS HE FORE-SAW WOULD FOLLOW FROM THIS POLICY IN EUROPE. MORALLY AND PERSONALLY, ONE CERTAINLY SENSED LEVI WAS IN FAVOR OF THIS NEW U.S. POLICY, BUT HE ALSO WANTED TO ALERT HIS AUDIENCE TO THE RISKS INVOLVED AND AT THE SAME TIME HE PROVIDED A SENSE OF OPTIMISM AND CONFIDENCE THAT WESTERN EUROPE COULD MEET THE CHALLENGES THAT WOULD ARISE IN THE FUTURE AS A RESULT OF CURRENT U.S. POLICY.

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